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The Only Way to avoid Violent Struggle**K. G. MASHRUWALA**

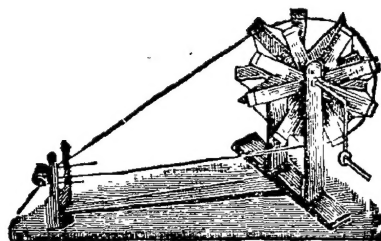
The difference between Gandhism and Marxism is great, but greater still is the difference between Gandhism and unbridled capitalistic, feudal and caste orders. Unless those who enjoy privileged positions in the present system of life in the shape of abundant wealth and superior caste relinquish them and constitute themselves true trustees of the wealth in their possession and make themselves equal in rank with the masses, reduce their standard of life in conformity with the poverty of the country, and pledge themselves to work for the well-being of every one, in the absence of a non-violent leader as great as Gandhiji himself, Communism with all its violent force is inevitable. And in that case those, who say that Communism is a stage preceding to Gandhism, i. e. a non-violent order, will be regarded as nearer to truth. The way to avoid this violent struggle is to voluntarily make a series of successive graded changes in the current way of life. Rank, caste, untouchability, etc. must go; unemployment and hunger must be abolished; provincialism and communalism must abate; nationalism must shed its selfishness, aggressiveness and imperialistic propensities; the difference between the highest and the lowest standards of life must diminish to an enormous extent; judicial and executive administration must show immediate and easily noticeable moral improvement; the semblance of democracy must give way to real democracy and sense of responsibility. Even all these changes will not lead to Gandhism as such; but they will be appreciated by the masses as progress towards it. If we are not earnest about these steps, the tide of Communism cannot be stemmed; and as the present state of affairs is not one, for the continuance of which a devotee might offer prayers to God, the tide would come with all its force to wash away all that stands in the way.

There is still time for the custodians of capital and holders of social rank to bring about graded changes in their lives. May it please God to grant that wisdom to every one of us.

— From the book 'Gandhi and Marx'.

The

KHADI



WORLD

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THE CULT OF KHADI

MAHATMA GANDHI

'It was in a spirit of self-introspection that Gandhiji poured himself out at the Khadi and Cottage Industries' Exhibition in the Haripura Congress on the 16th February, 1938, touching the implications of khadi with a solemnity and spiritual fervour', according to Shri. Mahadev Desai's report of Gandhiji's speech, a portion of which is reproduced below :

"...We have not realized the implications of khadi.

"Khadi has been conceived as the foundation and the image of ahimsa. A real khadi-wearer will not utter an untruth. A real khadi-wearer will harbour no violence, no deceit, no impurity. To those who will say, 'If this is khadi, we will not wear it' I will say, 'You are welcome to do what you like, but then you must forget to win Swaraj by means of truth and non-violence. Nor may I compel you to observe truth and non-violence, nor may I compel you to win Swaraj after my method.

"...There are many things here I have liked but it lacks the spirit of khadi.

"...If we cannot do this, we are not true soldiers of Swaraj, we have not become real villagers. Rural-mindedness and electrical illuminations go ill together. Nor have motor cars and motor lorries any place there. They took me to Faizpur and they brought me to Haripura in a car. They would not allow me to foot it out. ...Here there are petrol and oil engines and water-pipes, stoves and electricity, most of the modern city-dwellers' amenities, including the tooth paste and the tooth brush and scented hair-oils. The villager is or should be unspoilt by these things. His brush is the fresh babul stick, and his powder is salt and charcoal. You wear khadi, but what about things that surround you and are out of keeping with Khadi?

LIVING THE MANTRA OF KHADI

"Because we have not assimilated and lived the *mantra* of khadi, some Socialist friends are impatient with us and say that Gandhi's days are gone and a new age is upon us. I do not mind this; in fact I welcome plain-spokenness. If you think that what I say deserves to be rejected, do by all means reject it. Do what you do for the sake of India, not for my sake. I am but an image of clay, which is sure to be reduced to cinders. If you wear khadi for my sake, you will burn khadi on the day you burn my dead body. But if you have fully understood the message of khadi, if you have thoroughly assimilated it, khadi will long outlive me. Khadi is not a lifeless image to be worshipped externally. Proper worship is not image worship, it is the worship of God in the image. If we miss the spirit of khadi and make only a fetish of it, we are no better than gross idolaters.

"For twenty years I have preached the cult of khadi to my countrymen. I want to preach the same cult today when I am at death's door. Khadi is no longer the old tattered rag it looked like when it was born. It has all the health and beauty and vigour of youth, and I can therefore preach the cult of khadi with redoubled faith and vigour. Something within me tells me that herein I am not wrong. In khadi lies Swaraj—Independence".

(From the book 'Economics of Khadi')

Vinobaji on Planning Commission's Draft Outline

Shri. R. K. Patil, member of the Planning Commission met Vinobaji at Paramdham Ashram on 20th August and invited his opinion on the Draft Outline of the Planning Commission. Vinobaji's discussion is a critical examination of the Plan from the Sarvodaya point of view. There was frank discussion with Vinobaji and Shri Patil. This has come in the Hindi "Sarvodaya". A free rendering of the first portion was given in our previous issue. This is the second part of the discussion and rest will follow in the next issue of the "Khadi World".]

You have said in your report that the slaughter houses of this country have not affected the animal population at all. No doubt, from the point of view of Economics you will be able to draft a very bright plan on the basis of killing all weak animals, but it is strange that you have not the courage to ask the people to do so. It appears that you are not able to guide the people in a definite direction on any problem. You dare not call them for rearmament, but you do not also invoke them for disarmament. Nor are you ready to say that there is no need to stop cow-killing. But you must recognise the fact that cow-killing cannot be popular in this country. The cow and the bullock have become part of our society and are therefore constituents of our Indian Socialism. When people inquire of me "Have you no pity on other animals?", my reply is, "No! First let me show my compassion to the cow. If I could save the cow I would proceed to show pity for saving other animals". The simple and straight question is whether you want to protect your country. If you do want, then remember the direct truth that cow-killing does not fit in with the Indian culture. Because you are afraid that rebellion will break out in India if cow-killing is continued, you dare not declare its continuance. You are explicit about birth control. As regards prohibition you insist on a slow pace. Then why do you not say that there is no harm in killing a cow! But you deter from doing so on account of the condition of the country. My submission is that the ban on cow-slaughter is the only proper way. The economic situation of the country can suffer that burden. In case we were able to make a proper utilisation of the cow-dung of the living cattle and the bones, hide etc. after they are dead, cow-rearing will mean no strain to us. And if you want any assurance on behalf of the Muslims I can give you in writing that they are not for cow-slaughter.

GOD DOES NOT WANT MEAT!

I saw the Meos in a mosque and addressed them thus: "Had God wanted meat and if meat could satisfy Him, the butchers then could have brought Him round, and no prophet was required to reveal His message. But He does not want meat, He wants devotion". It went straight to their heart. The Government had not then declared a ban on cow-slaughter. The Moulvis used to appeal to the Meos not to kill a cow. But when the killing of two cows raised a furore in a village, I went there to pacify the people and controlled the situation.

Do you believe it or not that you have got a mandate from the people to ban cow-slaughter? You must unequivocally declare to that effect. By the way, I may say that I appreciated Shri. Jawaharlal's Bangalore speech in this connection. He said, "It is not at all proper that somebody sitting at New Delhi should issue a firman and ban cow-slaughter". He is right. But whether a Moghul King at Delhi can issue such an order or not is irrelevant here. The Prime Minister of Free India is no King but a representative of public opinion and if he will not do this thing, who else will?

Your attitude towards Basic Education is typical. Your simply recognising it will not serve the purpose. You will have to show whether it costs more or less as compared to the present system of education. Though Nai-Talim which imbibes a feeling of unity among the students does not appear to be self-sufficient in the beginning, yet on the whole it is not only self-sufficient but very much more effective and inspiring. You must, therefore, say that Basic education is a practical proposition and as such it must be incorporated in your plan. Every primary Basic education school must have two acres of land which must be worked by the children who should be able to obtain from it all required fruits and vegetables

for food and cotton for clothing. The teacher must also be able to get his vegetables and cotton from this land. The village teacher must be given 100 tolas of grain from it and extra-payment for other expenditure alone will have to be provided in your plan.

NO MORE UNTOUCHABILITY

You have suggested the establishment of hostels and Ashrams for the Harijans. But I believe that separate hostels or Ashrams should no more be provided for the Harijans. We should not be satisfied merely with the development of their education but we must see to it that this development takes place in such a manner as to wipe out untouchability. It is therefore proper that they should be sent to the common institutions.

TIME NOT RIPE FOR CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Your contention is that small pieces of land hamper production. You will have to substantiate this axiomatic proposition of yours. No doubt, you can carry on co-operative farming in the future by imparting its training to all. But there is no ground to observe that small bits of land tend to reduce production, specially when you know that our people are inclined to individual farming. In the beginning when I distributed land in Telangana I made it a condition on its being cultivated on a co-operative basis. But later it occurred to me that would not help much. I found that the people ridiculed Government's experiment of co-operative farming as it proved to be a miserable failure. Poor people have no knowledge of arithmetic which is very essential for co-operative farming as otherwise our village folk get confounded. I, therefore, abandoned my condition and began distributing the land only for individual farming. At times when people expressed a desire to donate lands only for co-operative farming I told them that they should themselves had to demonstrate by practical working. The fact is that they wanted to maintain their influence and hold by keeping quite a big share to themselves. I advised them, "You give your lands, and wash off your hands of the idea of landlordism. Let the poor be its owners". The people there support themselves on the basis of an acre of land (irrigated) per family. How they live is striking. Surely we cannot

do that. I distributed land on the basis of one acre of irrigated land or five acres of dry land per family.

THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC HOLDINGS

Some of the learned folk raised the question of economic or uneconomic holdings. But this issue is raised on economic utilisation of bullocks which need a minimum of 20 acres. My submission is that four families may maintain a pair of bulls and thus co-operate to that extent. There will be co-operation in other spheres also if possible, but the basic thing is that he who wants to cultivate must get land. The issue of economic and uneconomic holdings should not be brought in here.

*Prof. Bang asked me to arrange for 250 acres of land. I told him that half an acre was enough for me. After a year he agreed to 25 acres when I accepted the basic need as $3/4$ acre per head. I worked myself on $3/4$ acre of land. In the beginning there was some expense on manure and seeds which will not recur again. On this little piece of land we produced 10,000 lbs of green vegetables, which at the low rate of two annas per lb. will cost about Rs. 1,250.

THE INVISIBLE GANGA BELOW

We drew water for our plot by our own hands, working at the Persian wheel. We grew some monsoon crops also. But reliance on rains alone is risky. It is why Narada had asked Yudhishtira, "Do they rely only on the Gods for Agriculture?" Gods mean here Rain Gods. If we are able to dig properly and reach the surface of water, thus discovering the hidden Ganga flowing below, then the fertility of Indian soil would increase to five times as much. It was why that throughout my Telangana tour I urged upon the people to sink wells and more wells. If one well were sunk on each marriage occasion, within 40 years we will have 20 crores of wells. It is a different matter where it is absolutely impossible to dig wells. But generally we do get water below. The Saraswathi lying below must be brought up to the surface.

THE PROBLEM OF COMPENSATION

It is incumbent on us to take the superfluous land from those who have got it and distribute it among the landless, who have

**A former Professor of Commerce College, Wardha, who has now confined himself to a village experimenting on self-sufficient and balanced agriculture, near Wardha.*

nothing else to do. But the greatest obstacle before you is compensation. When people in Hyderabad inquired of me whether what Sheik Abdullah did in Kashmir was possible here I replied, "Certainly not! Because there is no Sheikh Abdullah in Hyderabad, nor are the political conditions here akin to those in Kashmir."

This was followed by conversation between the two.

Patil: How to solve the problem of distribution of land?

Vinoba: In accordance with the local conditions.

Patil: How much maximum land should be allowed to a landlord owning 200 acres?

Vinoba: The real question is not about the minimum or maximum area to be owned or about the size of the holdings. Ascertain the average for the village and distribute the land to the landless in that proportion. If after such an equitable distribution, one land-owner happens to possess, say, 100 acres, I won't grudge it. We shall make it clear to the big zamindars that we refuse to accept his special right over the land. We are going to distribute it, lest it might not become a source of trouble for you in the future. The significance of *Bhu-dan* should be explained to him and in fact, he must himself speak out how much land he wants to keep to himself. Perhaps he will not be able to utter a word. You must allow him as much land as may be necessary for his maintenance.

Patil: How should the land after all be distributed? Lands differ in quality and quantity. I am afraid we cannot have one uniform formula for all lands.

Vinoba: You will have to take into account the local situation of every village. I think you will have to fix the limit of one unit. In case the village is too small a unit, you can fix up a state or a district as unit.

Patil: The maximum average acreage per capita in our country today is three acres. The Government has no money for digging wells. Even when the present times are most propitious for agriculture and the tiller has money too with him, agriculture is not thriving.

Vinoba: What have you got to say in reply to it?

Patil: The land is with the rich who also own money, but they do not spend. I

think there can be two solutions for it. The Government must take away his land and give it to experienced agriculturists for cultivation. But then there comes the question of compensation. Should it be given? If so, how much? To whom should the land be given? There is a possibility of acute conflict in that too. Is it not wiser to maintain the *status-quo* than to create new conflicts. It is impossible without the co-operation of the people.

Vinoba: Does it not thereby follow that people have lost confidence in the capacity of the Government to manage affairs? This is the reason why people are not prepared to entrust agriculture or industries to it. It is, therefore, necessary for the Government to select a small unit and demonstrate its experiments there. Only when that succeeds, it can be applied to the whole country. Show it in practice first. Distribute the land of the rich among the poor.

Patil: It does not seem to be possible today.

Vinoba: The converse must be true. I am pining for it. The land must be distributed without any delay. Do all that you can in this direction. I will see to the rest.

Patil: But then enough land is not there.

Vinoba: Enough land is not there, enough food is not there, enough clothing is not there. I say, give them whatever that is already there. If there is not enough land, take up handicrafts and village industries. Protect these, but you do not do even that!

Patil: I think that even if we resolve to the clothing problem by khadi, it will take at least a decade to do it.

Vinoba: Come along! I can clothe the entire country in khadi within two years. If not, send me to the scaffold! But it is a different matter altogether if we do not want to spread khadi at all. Just as you enforce conscription in times of emergency or impart social education to train people for adult franchise, so also you must make spinning compulsory for one and all to meet cloth shortage. Start Basic education in the schools so that charkhas may be taken up there. Who can flout the policy of the State once it is unequivocally declared?

Today people say to me that there is no progress in khadi, even when the Gandhites are in power. They are right, for everything is possible if the Government plan and

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SELF-SUFFICIENCY & COMMERCIAL KHADI

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR, President, All India Spinners' Association

A brief report presented to President Rajendra Prasad on the occasion of his visit to Sevagram on 4th September, 1951.

Gandhiji had proposed to the Charkha Sangh to go over from *khadi* as a relief programme to *khadi* as a programme of self-sufficiency in cloth as an instrument of all-round village-service (*Samagra Grama Seva*) with the ultimate object of creating a society free from exploitation. He suggested to this end that the Sangh should prepare to spread itself over the seven lakhs of villages. The Sangh began to interest itself in this problem ever since, and considered how best it could modify and adapt itself to this new task. For more than two years, in the beginning however, not much progress could be made in this direction.

2. After the passing away of Gandhiji, the Sangh decided to take definite steps towards this aim. It decided to leave the production of commercial *khadi* to the certified institutions and dedicate all its energy thenceforward to this new task. In view of the *khadi* resolution of the Congress and the immediate problem of cloth shortage in the country, it also deemed it necessary to continue its efforts to increase the production of commercial *khadi* as a relief programme, and to organize, for that purpose, more and more certified institutions.

3. The work of organizing certified institutions has been progressing ever since and today 124 certified institutions with a capital of Rs. 113 lakhs (11.3 million) are engaged in the production and sale of pure *khadi*. Last year the production stood at Rs. 125 lakhs and sale amounted to Rs. 150 lakhs. Besides, the Charkha Sangh also sold Rs. 40 lakhs worth of *khadi*.

4. First, the Sangh took to opening and organizing the *kathayi mandals* (spinning clubs) throughout the country. The *kathayi mandal* aims at achieving all-round self-sufficiency through self-sufficiency in cloth under local initiative and management. The part of the work pertaining to self-sufficiency in cloth could be undertaken by the Sangh under its own management by sending its workers to train the village-people in the manufac-

ture of cloth and by providing other facilities. This is being done at the centres run by the Sangh. But it is felt that so long as the people do not resolve to abandon dependence in the matter of initiative and management, neither the self-sufficiency promoted under the aegis of the Sangh would last, nor would an order of society free from exploitation and based on complete self-sufficiency be established. Therefore, though the Sangh continues to change its old production centres into self-sufficiency centres under its own management, still its emphasis is on the organization of the *kathayi mandals*.

5. During the last two years, our efforts have been mainly directed to creating an atmosphere favourable to the ideology and programme of *khadi*, and we have now reached a stage when it can be said with some confidence that we have succeeded in enthusing the country over the *kathayi mandal* programme. The reports which have been reaching us from time to time go to show that the people, especially in the villages, are welcoming the programme and beginning to see a little more definitely its future potentiality for their good.

6. Besides the building up of a favourable atmosphere there are now 1239 *kathayi mandals* functioning in the various provinces. The achievement has strengthened our faith in the success of our work and given us a reassuring glimpse of its great future. The Sangh has now consolidated its position to such an extent that in the last conference, we passed a resolution providing for the production of 25 lakhs of square yards of self-sufficiency *khadi* during the next year. It is proposed to achieve this production through the joint agency of the self-sufficiency centres and the *kathayi mandals*. Besides, next year we hope to raise the number of *kathayi mandals* to 3,000.

7. Some friends complain that the Charkha Sangh has, by undertaking to work out the self-sufficiency programme,

(Continued on page 104)

★ MARX AND GANDHI ★

ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

"On the other hand, though the Gandhian ideology stands nowhere in an organised form, yet inasmuch as it is impregnated with the virility of right thinking, I believe that ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength."

What can be a more fascinating study to us in the present age than that of a comparison between the ideologies of Gandhi, the great soul (*mahatma*), and Marx, the great thinker (*maha-muni*)? If the last hundred years or so of the social life of humanity were boiled away, the residue will most likely be these two great names. Lenin is ingested in Marx. And the shadow of Tolstoy spreads over Gandhi. The two ideologies stand face to face, each bent on swallowing up the other. On the surface it might seem that the two contestants occupying the arena are the Communists led by Russia and the Capitalists under the mask of Democracy by U. S.,. But ideologically the latter has lost all vitality and though it might appear doughty on the strength of its military force I do not regard it as really existent as a rival against Communism. On the other hand, though the Gandhian ideology stands nowhere in an organized form, yet inasmuch as it is impregnated with the virility of right thinking, I believe that ultimately it will be Gandhism with which Communism will have its trial of strength. These are the two powerful ideologies which Kishorlalbhai has weighed up in this small book. The subject is so full of topical interest that in spite of his 'savourless-clear' style* the reader will not be able to lay it down until he has read it from cover to cover. Kishorlal's exposition of the Gandhian thought will be regarded as authoritative since he is the author of *Gandhi Vichar Dohan* † (Digest of Gandhiji's Ideas) published several years ago. And though his treatment of the Marxian doctrine may not be considered to be equally authoritative, I believe that he has taken enough

care to see that no injustice has been done in presenting it.

Whatever interest the world may or may not take in the comparative study of Gandhi and Marx, in our own country at least, it has become a subject of everyday discussion among the educated. Every discourser attempts to weigh and measure them up according to his capacity. If the Gandhian thought shows up a halo of spirituality around it, Communism has at its back the support of a scientific terminology. Having proved its worth by securing Swaraj for us, Gandhism may no longer be dubbed visionary and impracticable. And Communism, too, has for the moment proved its virility by rejuvenating the hoary old China. This tempts some workers to seek a reconciliation of the two systems, and has led to the enunciation of formulae like, "Gandhism is Communism minus violence". The fact of the matter is that these two ideologies are irreconcilable; the differences between them are fundamental. And these chapters make it as clear as day that are deadly opposed to each other.

On being told that Gandhism differed from Communism only in its strict emphasis on non-violence, I said: "Two persons were so physically alike that one could have well served as the double of the other in a political fraud. But there was a slight difference. One breathed, the other did not. The result was that a dinner was being prepared for the one and a coffin for the other". The likeness between these two ideologies bereft of the trivial (!) difference of *ahimsa* is similar to the above pair of doubles. Kishorlalbhai has shown that even their noses and eyes were dissimilar. It must be

* Indian poets describe cotton as a fruit of juiceless, clear fibres. There is a pun on the Sanskrit words for juice (*rasa*) and fibre (*guna*), which also mean respectively (literary) savour and merit, and compare with cotton a literary composition which is clear and pure, but without literary flourish and savour. K. G. M.

† The book was published in Gujarati, with the authority of Gandhiji and ran into three editions. It was also published in Hindi, Marathi and other Indian languages, and has been a text-book in Gandhian institutions. Its publication has, however, been discontinued, as it needs to be revised and considerably re-written to incorporate the developments in Gandhiji's ideas since 1940. The old edition is, however, still read in Gandhian institutions. (This is published as 'Gandhiya Navaneetham' in Tamil by A. I. S. A., Sarvodaya Prachuralayam and has run two editions.)

shown necessarily; for how can the noses and eyes of the living be like those of the dead, however much they might appear alike externally?

Communism being obviously an ideology of attachment (*aasakti*) I never considered it worthy of a philosophical examination. Although its votaries have erected an apparently grand philosophical edifice around it, essentially it is devoid of any philosophical content. It is so, because it is not an edifice at all but a pretentious jumble. Their vision is all yellow with intellectual jaundice. For example, they believe in an eternal element which they call 'conflict'. There is nothing else in the world but 'conflict'. In the ultimate analysis, 'nothing else is'. They remind one of the Atomist Kanaada who died ejaculating: "Atoms! Atoms! Atoms!" The breast of the mother overflows with milk for her new born baby. How does the miracle happen? From their point of view it is the result of a conflict between the breast of the mother and the mouth of the child. I have cited the example in a light vein, but these people will accept it in all seriousness. In short, if even what we regard as co-operation is reduced by them into a conflict, how great a conflict must an actual resistance be in their eyes! It would have to be called to adopt the Raghuririan method of coining technical terms, "per-conflict." How can one argue with such obsessed people? One can only wonder at them. They are not concerned with devising a technique to accord with a true philosophy. They are out to manufacture and trim a philosophy to suit their technique.

They also frequently discuss whether the mind has emanated from matter, or vice versa. None but a lunatic will doubt that mind has emanated from matter. Had mind been the creator of the Universe, who ever would have had any use for God? But though mind is the product of matter, the *Atma* i. e. Spirit remains a separate entity beyond both mind and matter. But the *Atma* is nowhere to be found in the Communist laboratory and, if anybody shows his traces to them, they will deny its existence without the least hesitation. To such a dialectician Sankaracharya said, "Friend, I have no quarrel with you. For you, who deny the *Atma*, are yourself the *Atma*. If you agree, it will be proved by your

acceptance, and if you deny it, it will be proved by your denial". He who alleges that he is asleep proves his wakefulness quite as much as he who asserts that he is awake. Thus, on account of its rejection of this third factor, the *Atma*, who gives form and substance both to mind and matter, Communism, caught in the whirl of social reconstruction, has no independent and important place for virtue. What to us are spiritual qualities are to them merely the product of economic conditions. A soulless ideology has no place for the freedom of the individual. Who cares to count the number of hairs which the barber snips off from one's head? Individuals come and go, society abides; therefore it alone truly exists; the individual counts for nothing.

Just as the sons of Sagar discovered the source of the Ganga, so also these thinkers have traced the whole course of human history. And they have arrived at the conclusion that just as an arrow that has been shot will not deflect from its path but must take a definitely determinable course, so also it is with mankind. Its past history has decided once for all its future course. There is no longer any freedom of action left us. Every thing is determined. There will be first rivers of blood, then rivers of milk and honey, and then will follow those of fresh and cool water flowing by each happy home assuaging the thirst of all mankind. Their study and research of history has provided them with a well-knit science of revolution as exact as Euclidian Geometry. Marx foretold even the order and sequence in which revolutions will take place in the different parts of the world. Although this prophecy has not exactly come true, the discrepancy should be regarded just a slip in calculation,—like slips in astrology, which are not regarded as sufficient to warrant a conclusion that the science of astrology itself is wrong. Just as the warrant of Death cannot altogether be avoided, so, too, the destined course of revolution. Hence, all that a man may do is, under the circumstances, to co-operate with it, and help it on as much as possible.

Kishorlalbai has written this little book to show that the Gandhian Ideology cannot fit itself in the framework of this extreme doctrine.

* As in peroxide, permanganate etc.

[The above is an extract from Vinobaji's introduction to the latest publication "**Gandhi and Marx**" by Shri. K. G. Mashruwala — by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, — Pages 112 - Price 1-8-0]

IF GANDHIJI WERE ALIVE

BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

It may seem presumptuous to attempt to say what Gandhiji would have done if he were alive today. But it is necessary to remind ourselves off and on of the fundamentals for which he worked and which he wanted realized in our national life. That would indicate the lines along which he would have worked, had he been alive.

1. Obviously, the very first essential for which Gandhiji lived and worked was Truth. Truth was for him God. Falsehood, hypocrisy and deceit were therefore of the devil. He called his movement Satyagraha or one which depended entirely on the soul-force which springs from clinging to Truth. The Satyagrahi was to be absolutely truthful, and therefore above board and open. He was not to resort to anything secretive or underhand.

Non-violence or love, the other essential for which Gandhiji stood, was but a means to Truth. The man whose heart was full of love would not resort to falsehood. There was no need for such a man to lie, for all deception and fraud arose from selfishness or lack of love.

Gandhiji therefore proclaimed that Truth and non-violence went hand in hand, while under violence Truth was the first victim. He dinned this teaching into us. India knew

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hampered the progress of khadi. But our experience of the last three years' work confirms us in the belief that only by following the self-sufficiency goal shall we be able to popularize *khadi* and make it stay. While the present scarcity of cloth is undoubtedly favourable for promoting the production of commercial *khadi*, it also affords the most favourable opportunity for implementing the self-sufficiency programme. In fact, the shortage of cloth is more acutely felt by the villagers than by the townspeople. Spinning too is practised more in the villages than in the cities. Therefore we have come to believe that under these circumstances the best way to speed up and expand *khadi*-work is to provide facilities to the villages to help them manufacture

this, and therefore when she became free, she adopted as her motto the words now inscribed under the seal of the Government of India, *Satyameva jayate*, Truth alone triumphs.

As against this, what do we find in our country today? Bribery, corruption, black-marketing, fraud and deception. Even ministers, who claim to have known Gandhiji personally and been closely associated with him, are said to be corrupt. There can be no greater treachery than to trade on Gandhiji's name and acquaintance to feather one's own nest. The people should not merely talk about it in whispers, but after adequate investigation, expose the culprits and demand their expulsion. If Gandhiji were alive today he would be in agony over the selfishness and fraud of his close associated and professed followers. They are his greatest enemies if they are guilty of corruption, and therefore they should be shown no consideration by the nation. The crime of the man who slew Gandhiji's body is as nothing compared with these who kill from moment to moment what Gandhiji lived for, his very soul, his aspiration for absolute Truth in word and deed.

2. Another principle for which Gandhiji lived was service and sacrifice. Under his leadership Congressmen won the respect of
(Continued on next page)

their cloth themselves. Anyone with some knowledge of the psychology of city populations can readily see that they have taken to *khadi* only under the force of circumstances and will reject in the moment mill-cloth becomes easily available. But not so with the villagers. Though they may learn to manufacture *khadi* and leave mill-cloth under the compulsion of circumstances, they will be reluctant to purchase mill cloth and spend money over it even when it becomes easily and cheaply available.

8. Therefore what is most necessary, at present, is to devote our utmost energy to make the village-people self-sufficient in cloth, so that a lasting solution to this problem may be achieved.

the nation because of their self-sacrifice. The Gandhi cap carried respect, because it meant readiness to suffer for the country. It signified service at the cost of oneself. But today one is ashamed to wear the Gandhi cap, for it has come to symbolize, not service and sacrifice, but unscrupulous lust for power and wealth. What a deplorable meaning for a cap honoured by Gandhiji's name!

Or consider the matter again from the point of view of the future of the Congress Party. The Congress won the loyalty of the nation because of its service. As Gandhiji wrote on the 27th of January 1948, "But yesterday the Congress was unwittingly the servant of the nation, it was *khudai khidmatgar*—God's servant. Let it now proclaim to itself and the world that it is only God's servant—nothing more and nothing less. If it engages in the ungainly skirmish for power, it will find one fine morning that it is no more" ("Harijan", 1-2-'48). Unfortunately Gandhiji's prediction appears to be coming true. The tremendous prestige which the Congress had won through the years, it is rapidly losing because the people do not see in it any more the idea of service. On the other hand, they are beginning to turn away from it because of its greed for power. They are getting tired of power politics and of the innumerable parties that are springing up to grab power, cost what it may. The Congress seems to them just another political party seeking power and advantage for itself, not the good of the nation. One sees no hope for the Congress if it continues to go the way it does.

Gandhiji with true foresight had advised it to disband itself as soon as political freedom was won and to form itself into a *Lok Seva Sangh* or organisation for service of the people. He drafted a constitution for the purpose. If Gandhiji were alive, he would have rescued the Congress from the disaster into which it appears to be fast heading, and directed it into the sphere of constructive national service. It is a tragedy that he was not spared for this task. A greater tragedy is still that Congressmen should have gone counter to his last wishes, and persisted in retaining the old organisation and brought it to the verge of collapse. The Congress can have a future only if it follows Gandhiji's advice, gives up its political ambitions, and devotes itself to disinterested service. When it does this the people will again rally round

it, and it will have all the political influence it had of old, entirely unsought. Otherwise it must perish with no one shedding a tear for it.

3. What was the service which Gandhiji wanted done? He called himself a *Kisan*, put on the dress of one and lived in a village. He regarded service of the villages as service of the nation, for the nation lived in its villages. He plied the spinning wheel, got the Congress to adopt spinning and *Khaddar* as a token of its desire to serve the villages and to promote village industries. He visualized an India whose villages will hum with activity, where people will live a life of freedom managing their own affairs. In government he did not want a brown bureaucracy in place of the white. He wanted Panchayat rule where villagers will rule themselves for all that immediately affected them. In economic life he was all for cottage industries which left the worker his own master, as against factory manufacture which centralises production and reduces the worker to a state of helplessness and paralysis. He declared that freedom from foreign rule was only the first stage in our struggle for freedom, and that real freedom would come only when our villagers were economically, socially and morally free. But is India under independence village-centred? Do the Congress and the Government feel that the villager is their master whom they have to serve? Has independence begun to make itself felt in the village? Are the villagers filled with new hope and a new confidence in themselves? If not, the struggle for freedom has still to go on. It would express itself in a movement for revival of village life through village education, sanitation, medical aid, agriculture, industries, and a harmonious social life. If Gandhiji were alive there is no doubt that he would have given his entire time and thought for this work. As against this, the present tendency in our country is to pay lip homage to the needs of our village people. Actually we are moving in opposition to the future which Gandhiji envisaged. We are not working for an India with her base in her 700,000 villages, but are working for an India with a few powerful factories capable of ruining and enslaving the villages. We may as well face facts and see where we are going before it is too late.

4. A problem which is developing into alarming proportions is that of food. Gandhiji insisted that we can and should

become self-sufficient in food. But instead of our import of food diminishing year by year, it is steadily increasing and swallowing up our hard-earned foreign credits. The only device the authorities seem to have for food shortage is import from abroad and control of food distribution. But this has brought untold hardship for the nation, as Gandhiji predicted. Food imports have used up a great deal of money needed for economic reconstruction, and so our production remains at a low level and prices are rising. Controls have led to hoarding and therefore to greater scarcity of food, and blackmarketing. Gandhiji would not believe that we could not produce sufficient food to feed our people. He suggested several measures to cope with the evil. If he had been alive, one feels, he would have got the people behind the Government's Grow More Food campaigns. He would have worked for the abolition of controls, which are responsible for increase in corruption and blackmarketing, and he would have thus reduced our food problem to manageable proportions.

5. Consequent on food scarcity and the resultant high prices of all essential commodities, there is an incessant clamour on the part of labour for increase in wages. The demand is understandable. And yet mere increase in wages cannot solve the problem, for that again will necessarily increase prices and we shall thus be involved in a vicious circle. Gandhiji had great experience in handling labour disputes and strikes. He was a trusted friend of both the worker and the employer. His method was to teach the two as indispensable parts of production to co-operate with each other, to understand each other's necessary role and not seek to profit at the cost of bringing ruin to the other. Today under the influence of a very different philosophy imported from the West, Labour is set in enmity to capital. What is worse, such a conflict is engineered and promoted to gain popularity with workers and obtain their votes. The result for the nation is dislocation of industry and heightening of economic distress. Gandhiji, on the other hand, took up the problems in dispute with sympathy for both the parties concerned, and sought to bring about peaceful solutions and cordial relations between worker and employer. Today when the country is faced with strikes of various kinds one wishes that Gandhiji's wise counsel and direction were available. But he has not left us without guidance. He has shown us

by precept and example how such difficult situations are to be handled, and it is for us to apply the principles he taught and practised.

6. Related to labour is the problem of Prohibition. Gandhiji felt that drink was a crime worse than theft, for while theft involved material wealth, drink took away what was even more precious, viz. man's mastery over himself. When man becomes a slave to drink he sacrifices himself, his honour, his family, his all for it, and under its influence he resorts to vice and crime. No amount of education or propaganda on the evils of drink helps, once he has fallen a prey to drink. The only effective way, therefore, to save our people from this terrible scourge, Gandhiji was convinced, was to prevent them from having opportunities to drink. He realized of course that the Government will lose much revenue by abolishing drink. But he considered no price too great to put a stop to an evil which is likely to eat gradually into the vitals of the nation and sap its manhood. He was so earnest about Prohibition that he declared that if he were dictator of India, for five minutes the first thing he would do was to abolish drink. If he were with us today he would have waged a relentless war till drink became a thing of the past. He would have created public opinion and recruited an army of workers to make Prohibition a success. Today the Congress which should be doing this work seems neither to have the will nor the conviction.

7. A problem which Gandhiji tackled ever since he entered public life in India was that of national unity—unity between Hindus and Muslims, unity between touchable and untouchable. Fortunately for us we have in Pandit Nehru a leader completely one with Gandhiji in this respect. Even so the orthodox separatist elements are active, and communal prejudices and caste are still very much alive. What are we doing to overcome them? Can it be truly said that the Muslims feel that all discrimination against them has ceased? Under independence there should have been a breaking down of barriers between the communities and a feeling that all the people of India are one irrespective of caste or creed. If Gandhiji were alive he would have worked ceaselessly for this. He fasted unto death against untouchability and died in the cause of communal unity. But these items for which

Reminiscences of Gandhiji's Jail Life

KAKA KALELKAR
MAY 1955

In 1930 I was transferred to the Yeravda Jail to be with Bapu. I had taken a large quantity of slivers with me to last me through the five months of imprisonment which I had still to undergo. But the Government soon brought Shri Vallabh-bhai also to Yeravda. There was only a wall between him and us, but we could not meet him. Bapu felt this deeply. He often said, "Look how this Government is annoying us! They have brought Vallabh-bhai all the way from Sabarmati, and kept him so near that we can even hear his voice sometimes. And yet we cannot meet him. What fun does the Government get out of this, I wonder?" Those who saw Bapu from a distance could perceive in this only his noble patience. But those who had the privilege of knowing him intimately knew the intensity of his love, and the depth of his pain when that love was wounded. As Bapu walked in the prison courtyard, his thoughts strayed continuously to him who sat behind that dividing wall.

One day Major Martin, the Jail Superintendent, brought a note from Vallabh-bhai: "I have run out of slivers. Please send me some if you can." Vallabh-bhai was a champion spinner. Whenever he had a spare moment, he spent it either in pacing his room to and fro like a lion in a cage or in spinning. His mother, too, had a passion for spinning. Even her blindness could not keep her away from her beloved spinning wheel. The people of her household had to hide their own slivers in order to keep

them from her avid hands. If she found any slivers anywhere she just sat and spun them away! And Vallabh-bhai was a true son of his mother!

Bapu asked me, "Kaka, have you any slivers?" "As many as you want," I returned promptly, "but I have no knowledge of carding. If I give these away, what shall I do myself?" Said Bapu, "Do not worry. I will teach you carding. Or I will make slivers for you." "I should prefer to learn carding," said I, although I had my fears. I handed over all my slivers to be sent to Vallabh-bhai.

Then Bapu turned the adjoining room into a carding school with all the necessary paraphernalia, and taught me carding in a few days.

But then the rainy season came upon us. The string of my carding-bow grew slack with the moisture in the air. What was to be done? We pondered, and thought we should try putting the cotton and the carding-bow in the sun whenever it was fine. But that did not work, because it rained very hard and the sun did not shine at all. So we pondered some more, and remembered that there was an oven in our courtyard which was used by the Anglo-Indian convicts for baking bread. I began to leave my cotton and carding bow-string there in the evenings. They responded to this treatment and became satisfyingly taut, but how were the ruffled fibres of the string to be

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Gandhiji was prepared to lay down his life seem to mean very little for us. Harijans still suffer discrimination and Hindus and Muslims still have separate schools, hospitals, hotels and such like.

Of the many things for which Gandhiji strove we have mentioned a few of the more important. It is easy to add to the list. If he lived now he would have devoted himself to them with redoubled vigour, seeing that the distraction of repeated campaigns against the foreign ruler is over. Let us who are his heirs not betray him. He can

work now only through us. We all honour him greatly. But true homage demands our working in our own way for the great and glorious vision he had of India—an India where Truth and Non-violence will prevail, where man will not exploit fellowman, where people will work together in self-sufficient groups co-operating to make their common life a blessing, where even the weakest and the lost will learn to become master of himself and rise to the highest of which he is capable, and where all will live in friendliness and peace with their neighbours and the world. ○ ○ ○

smoothed? We hit upon the method of rubbing them down with the leaves of the bitter neem.

One day Bapu noticed that I was in the habit of breaking off a whole twig for the sake of four or five leaves. Whereupon he said, "This is *himsa* (violence). Others might not be able to understand, but you can. Even these four leaves should be plucked by us humbly, with due apologies to the tree. You break off whole twigs."

From the next day I left off doing so. Being tall, I had no difficulty in plucking just the four or five leaves I needed. Then I had another brain-wave. I started waxing my string with a bit of candle to protect it from the atmospheric moisture, on days when the oven was not working. This did the trick and Bapu was pleased.

And then we stopped getting *datuns* (fresh neem or babul sticks, which are chewed and used as tooth brushes) from outside. I said, "Bapuji, this place abounds in

neem trees. I will make a nice, fresh *datun* for you every morning." Bapu agreed. The next day I brought a *datun*, pounded one end of it into a soft brush, and gave it to Bapu. After using it he said, "Now cut off the used bit of the *datun* and pound that end into a brush again." I said, surprised, "But why? We can get a fresh one every day." "I know we can," said Bapu, "but that does not mean we should. We have not the right. We must not fling away a *datun* until it becomes too dry to be usable." So that was how it was done. Sometimes the 'brush' could not be made soft enough, and the thought of Bapu's gums and the few remaining teeth having to suffer was painful to me, but what could I do? I had been forbidden to cut a new *datun* until the old one had either become too small or had dried away into complete uselessness.

Thus, Bapu was not only an ideal prisoner, but also an ideal follower of the principle of *ahimsa*.

— From the book 'Stray Glimpses of Bapu'.

★ Satyagraha and Present Times ★

HARI KRISHNA MOHANI

In the Shivarampalli conference of the Sarvodaya Samaj, when the question of the attitude of the members of the Samaj, towards the present Government and the Congress or towards politics in general was discussed, the topic of Satyagraha was also opened. It is proposed to deal with this important topic separately in this short note.

Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari being the main speaker he could handle this topic longer than others. Though the subject was very important and though the minds of some of the members were agitated over it, adequate justice could not be done to it for want of time.

Dada Dharmadhikari pointed out the fundamentals of Satyagraha in his short speech, but he had no time to discuss exhaustively and coolly, the conditions necessarily to be obtained in Satyagraha under the present circumstances. Thus the topic though sacred, important and necessary was only touched in the conference and it could scarcely leave a salutary impression in the minds of the members.

Dada Dharmadhikari pointed out that the fundamentals on which Satyagraha was based were these. First a *Satyagrahi* must believe in the oneness of human nature. Secondly there was no person in human society who was hundred percent good or hundred percent evil. There was no perfection of virtue in this imperfect world; and thirdly the purpose of Satyagraha was to convert evil into good.

Granting that these fundamentals were incontrovertible, the question before the members was, whether it was right to resort to Satyagraha against the present Government and again, what person, group or institution was competent enough, to resist through Satyagraha, the evil rampant in present circumstances. It was here that the members of the Samaj wanted light. They could not be enlightened by the discussion in the Conference.

It will be universally admitted that the great gift which Gandhiji gave to the whole world was that of Satyagraha—He showed for the first time, convincingly in human

history, that evil could be resisted in a non-violent manner even on social plane. Before Gandhiji, Satyagraha was individually resorted to by saints or pious people, against evil doers, invoking the assistance of God. Gandhiji was the first pioneer to demonstrate objectively, the efficacy of Satyagraha, the potency of the spiritual mind, not only in individual behaviour but in social and political sphere as well, and that too on this very earth. Satyagraha was the unique and uncommon contribution of Gandhiji to social morals. It can humbly be pointed out that herein he went further than Lord Buddha and Jesus Christ, the great divine messengers of the world. It is averred that Gandhiji spiritualised politics. This only means that the limited sphere of politics was transcended so as to include morals into it or that politics was identified with morals, Truth and Ahimsa being brought to bear on them, through Satyagraha.

Many of the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj, gathered at Shivarampalli, had experienced a touch of this spiritual power of Satyagraha. They had realized how Gandhiji had uplifted people's minds and made them feel the ennobling moral atmosphere. The members of the Samaj were confounded to find within the last three years a great metamorphosis in the surrounding environment, and they could not but ask themselves, whether Satyagraha might not be the remedy to resist the numerous evils prevalent, in the present circumstances.

Those followers of Mahatma Gandhi who are impatient of the evils and who want to resort to Satyagraha will easily come to the conclusion, if they reflect with a dispassionate mind that the present times are hardly propitious for any movement of Satyagraha—individual, group or mass. The first essential for the exercise of Satyagraha is that the bonafides of the social reformer who wants to withstand evil, through Satyagraha must be above reproach. The atmosphere necessary for the enhancement and spread of the virtue of non-violence, is vitiated from the very start if the selfless motives of the Satyagrahi are questioned from the beginning.

It may be recalled that when Mahatma Gandhi was the leader of the Satyagraha movement his motives were generally not questioned even by the foreign Government and its high English officials. He had long

established his character as a saintly personality. When, however, Mahatmaji found to his mental uneasiness that his motives were deliberately and wrongfully questioned, he took special care to establish the veracity of his motives. Without the minimum of goodwill on both of the opposite and conflicting sides, therefore, the conversion of the mind, through Satyagraha, cannot take place.

Before the attainment of Swaraj the patriotic motive of the Satyagrahi was unquestionable, and the non-violent technique resorted to by him, in opposition to the Government could enhance the virtue of the Satyagrahi and ennoble the atmosphere, because the situation by its very nature, was morally helpful to him. The foreigner who ruled the land was always at a disadvantage. He had no morality to back his repressive actions.

It is quite clear that the same advantageous situation does not prevail at present. The present Government is of the people, formed by the people and for the people. The social reformer knows that it is his own Government and he knows at the same time that it cannot govern well. His own Government cannot cope up with evils which are growing as days pass on. He knows that there is ample ground for the resistance of numerous evils, through Satyagraha, but the psychologically favourable atmosphere, according to him, is very much lacking for the exercise of Satyagraha. Because the Government is his own, the social reformer prepared for Satyagraha, is more embarrassed and uneasy at heart than formerly.

Those several handicaps from which a social benefactor who is eager for Satyagraha is suffering at present, are mentioned below:

1. The rulers and the ruled are identical in the democratic Government and there is no fundamental conflict of interest between them.

2. The social reformer's ranks are very much depleted, many of his former comrades having joined the ranks of parliamentarians, administrators and rulers—the source from which Government power actually emanates and which is inadequate to meet the situation.

3. The thirst for power, inordinate ambition and selfish interests have corrupted the minds of a very large influential majority of people, directly or indirectly.

The Khadi World : Whom to Elect ?

R. R. KEITHAHN, GANDHI GRAM

Many of us are already becoming excited about the elections. In our Constituency there seems to be a good deal of agitation. One of the 'important' castes is reported to have said, "We are a very important section in this area. It is right that one of *our* men should be nominated for the Assembly!" Is this our free India? Is this what we fought for? Is ours to be a caste or sectional raj? Surely that is not a true basis of real democracy. Surely any section of the electorate that thinks or talks in such terms ought to be severely criticized by the rest of the public and ignored as a candidate. If we were to work on such a basis then surely a candidate from the weakest community should be selected so that the weaker and the exploited people might get justice. But even that is not an adequate basis on which to work. May I suggest for your consideration some of the questions that we should ask a candidate who would like to represent his Constituency; or better still, the questions we should raise when we select a candidate or vote for our representative:

One aspect of the genius of Gandhiji was that as he gave us a method to attain political freedom he also developed a nation-building programme which would bring complete freedom and justice to all. That programme was to result in a "casteless,

classless society. Does the candidate believe in such a society? Does he stand above caste and above sectarian community? we should ask him and make him answer frankly: "What will you do to bring about this casteless, classless society?" And we should study the life of the candidate to see whether he does act above caste or sect which would be an earnest as to his political integrity.

Gandhiji told us that we must work for communal unity, that is, for a true society. Does the candidate believe in such a society? Does he patronize caste or communal institutions or organizations? What will he do to promote communal unity? He should answer us clearly before we give him our vote.

Again Gandhiji stood for great social reforms. He said that drink and gambling must go. Does the candidate believe in social purity? Is he going to support prohibition? Is he going to support every good social reform? For example, is he going to insist that women have equal rights with men? How?

Again, does the candidate believe in economic equality? What will he do for it? Is he ready to make radical changes in the present Land Tenure system? Is he ready to insist that there be no absentee land

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4. The motives of persons prepared and eager for satyagraha are very likely to be questioned by their erstwhile colleagues and comrades.

5. There are very few people in the land whose motives of public good, will be universally acknowledged as pure, unselfish, and transparently honest.

6. There is a great danger of the Satyagrahi being dubbed as an unbalanced person or a crack headed obsessed gentleman, which supposition, impression or accusation is detrimental to his cause.

As the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj are not interested in the alternative leadership, or substitution of power through different political parties knowing full well

that such a change in the administration would very little help, in removing the present ills, is it not proper for the Satyagrahi not to add to the embarrassing and already difficult situation by prematurely preparing for Satyagraha? As non-violence is their creed they cannot afford to incur the danger of creating chaos in the country which can help nobody. Controlling their impatience which is justifiable, but without swerving their faith in the divine doctrine of Satyagraha, they will have to muster together greater strength by strenuous labour, extending the field of constructive activities in multifarious direction. They will have to abide their time till enough Satyagrahi power is generated from the populace.

They will be advised to bear in mind the well known line "they also serve who wait and pray". ★ ★ ★

ownership? Is he going to give his best efforts that the Landless Agricultural Labourer be given land? Is he going to insist that if the Government is going to build houses for the rich and middle classes even more it must assist the poor villagers, and especially the Harijans, to build better houses and villages? Does he believe that the Charkha is the sun in the Solar system around which all cottage industries revolve as planets? Is he convinced that the regeneration of villages will be possible only when they become self-sufficient in cloth next to food? Does he realize that the Indian Textile mills have today emasculated the masses by depriving them of their legitimate productive work by hand-spinning and hand-weaving for self-consumption, as the Lancashire and Manchester mills were once doing? Will the candidate therefore work for preventing expansion of the Textile mills and for suspension of the existing mills progressively? Does he believe in village industries? Will he do all in his power to promote the welfare of such industries so that the agriculturist may have some supplementary work when agricultural activities fail? Is the candidate going to insist that processing of food be done in the village and in a manner that food values are conserved? Will he insist that there be no polishing of rice in rice mills and no destruction of food values in oil mills? Will he encourage, in every way possible, these village industries that save the food values of rice and vegetable oils? Will he do all in his power to see that the cotton industry is promoted in the village and discouraged in highly centralized centres such as Coimbatore, Madras, Madurai etc.?

A Rural Development Programme has been formulated for this State. It has been carrying on good work. Some encouragement has been given to rural workers. Will the candidate promote and strengthen this programme? Will he see that more of the tax income goes to the needy rural areas and less to urban areas which have had an undue portion of such taxation during the past?

Does the candidate believe in a healthy and sanitary village? What has he done to promote such health and sanitation? What will he do? Is he ready to promote a substantial health programme and give all co-operation possible from government agencies?

Does the candidate believe in universal and life-centred education? Is he ready to promote wholeheartedly the accepted

Basic Education Programme in his State? What will he do to bring about universal elementary education? Is he ready to give a larger proportion of the educational fund to education in the villages and much less, if necessary, to urban education? Is he ready to promote a substantial citizenship training that will help every villager to know how to be a creative citizen and establish "Peoples' Colleges"?

Does the candidate believe in his own culture and in his own language? Is he a good representative of that culture? Can he use his own language well? Does he believe in our great common culture? Is he ready to promote the accepted national language of India? Does he know that language? What will he do to bring about this common language?

Does the candidate believe in a minimum wage for all people? What will he do to see that all industrial labour receives a minimum wage? What will he do to ensure a minimum wage to agricultural and other labour? Is he ready to promote a movement for lower incomes on the part of the wealthy and middle classes until every citizen in India is assured a minimum wage? Is he ready to promote lower wages for the top civil services and higher wages for the lowly-paid?

These are some of the questions that all of us must ask when candidates seek our votes during the next two months. We must insist on a clearcut reply. It would be good if each village would organize a great public meeting, invite all the candidates to that public meeting and then place before them such a series of questions, or better still a positive programme which they believe in, and ask the candidates for a definite reply. In other words we should not look to the candidates to give us a nation-building programme but we must give them such a programme and give our vote to them only when they assure us that they will support such a programme wholeheartedly. I take it that such an approach to the elections will be true to the spirit of the Khadi World. Let us even from the beginning place our elections on a very high level. And as you read this article I am sure you will have even better suggestions to make, for the conduct of our elections. The important thing is that we get at the job and do something about it.

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WALKING TOUR OF VINOBAJI - II

DAMODARDAS MUNDADA

The following is the second report of the progress of Shri. Vinobaji's Delhi Tour, received from Shri. Damodardas Bhai. The first report was published in the October issue of the "Khadi World."

The second stage of Vinobaji's North India Tour was marked by hearty welcome accorded to him by Satpura and its people, the Gonds. The following figures will be interesting to the readers:

Date- Sept.,	Halting Places	Popu- lation	Total land received	No. of donors	1 to 25 acres
18	Umranala	300	50.80	7	7
19	Chhindwara	35,000	54.00	6	6
	*(Sarna)		3.55	4	4
	(Bzngaon)		11.50	8	8
20	Singodi	1,295	79.55	42	42
21	Amarwada	2,955	108.13	34	32
	(Kunavool)		1.00	1	1
	(Jungarvali)		9.00	6	6
22	Surlakapa	320	50.95	18	18
23	Harrai	1,669	1033.33	21	20
24	Kondali	48	5.00	3	3
25	Narsingpur	13,000	62.93	11	11
26	Kareli	7,000	319.00	18	17
27	Barman	931	527.75	22	19
Total:-			2316.49	201	194

The figures are eye openers. While the big cities of Chhindwara and Narsingpur have proved very shy, the response of the villages is notable. Why are the cities shy? In the villages, Pujya Vinobaji comes in direct contact with the villagers. His words touch their simple, innocent and generous hearts. They know the pangs of the poor, the agony of the landless. Their heart is as broad as the sky. Vinobaji speaks to them personally, stretches out his one hand and they fill his both with land-offering. In the cities the power politics comes in. Either the land-holders have prejudices against the Congress workers, or the Congress workers have not the courage to approach the land-holders, because the congressmen happen to be landlords also, and before asking, one must be prepared to part with a part of his own possessions.

In Telengana, it was quite the other way. The villages did contribute their might without any reservation, but the cities fully realised their responsibility and tried to make up a four-figure contribution everywhere. Thus Suryapet, Mahbubabad and Warangal did not lag behind one thousand acres each, while Adilabad made up two. Many Congressmen gave $\frac{1}{4}$ of their land. Vinobaji did not stay for more than a day in any place and all donations came as a result of his appeal. The same thing happened at Nagpur, but Vinobaji is not in the least pessimistic. If the poor people are giving away their precious lands, rich will have to give at least tomorrow if not today. "All the land belongs to me. It shall come to me i. e. to the *Daridranarayana*. Such is the urge of the hour. It is not I that is speaking; it is the will of the Lord that is working through me." It is however clear, that the masses have fully grasped the idea. Their moral support is evident from their enthusiasm, manifested through their donations, however small they may be. Did not Bapu collect every pie that was offered to him, even by the *Daridranarayana* for the *Daridranarayana*? Out of the 201 donors, only four offered above 100 acres each. Thakur Udayabhanu Shah who gave 963.33 acres is one of them. All the rest are but like drops of rain which alone can water the land.

There is a story in Ramayana. At the very first sight Hanuman knew his Master and surrendered himself fully while Sugriva made friends with Rama when he was convinced of the latter's might. The story was repeated in Bapu's case. Men like Jamnalalji, Mahadev Bhai and kisans of Champaran in Gujarat surrendered themselves wholeheartedly and fully at the feet of their master at the very first sight. But others came to him when they saw the rod in his hand that could bring about miracles. History may repeat itself in case of Acharya

* Names within brackets are of villages on the way.

Vinoba also. The Meos of Punjab, the people of Telangana as well as the Gonds of Satpura realised at the very first sight that in him was their benefactor. The Congressmen today do not seem to have the leisure to understand the significance of his mission, to realize that here is a man who has a revolutionary programme, not only for India, but for the whole war-ridden world. But non-violence knows no haste and impatience, and let us wait for the proper moment. It is of course in our hands i. e. the Sarvodaya workers, to hasten the day.

Thus we came to pass the Satpura, a rich and beautiful mountain track more than 3,000 feet high, 75 miles in length and 20 miles in breadth. Although the soil is poor by rule and rich by exception, Harrai, the Jagir which we visited is the most substantial exception. The people in this part speak Hindi better than Gondi. The population is 88 persons per square mile. In rural areas it is 82. The town population is 7% of the whole, but Chhindwara which we visited is only 4% and Jagirs have no towns. The population is more devoted to agriculture than the statistics show. The district of Chhindwara was under Gauli rule before the Gond Kingdom established itself. The Gauli Kingdom has left no trace of any importance. The Marathas absorbed it which became British territory afterwards. Appasaheb, when he fled from the custody in 1818, on his way to Allahabad, took shelter in this area. Bhabhootsinha had joined the freedom's struggle in 1857. It seems the Gonds enjoyed freedom for 60 years. Their economy deserves a research. The wages were paid in kind and the agriculture all done by hand.

In his letter of donation, the Gond Chief while giving his hundred acres, said, "Verily we are all backward. Lead us 'kindly light.' Thee we shall follow. Oblige us by accepting our humble offering."

And Vinoba said to the villagers, "I have received water through a big pipe. But the land needs drops of rain. May you all shower", and one after another, they rose and gave 70 acres.

To the Thakur, Vinobaji said, "Do not be satisfied with the donation. Send some young men to Sevagram and get them trained in Sarvodaya work. They will build up Gondwana anew."

And he did not forget to mention Jaimnalaji's name. "See what tremendous work he has done in Wardha. You may follow his example."

And Vinobaji has a peculiar way of asking land. Villagers are waiting on road side to have his darshan. He sits on a cot in their midst, pats on their back, tells them his mission within 5 minutes, obtains land for the landless, at times one acre, at times 5, at times 8 and so on and he marches along. A villager offered him garland. "Have I come for garlands? Do I not get them at Paramdham? Tell me if you can give me land for the poor." And the man at once parts with a portion of his belongings. People fight in law court for every inch of land. Here they give him willingly. The idea has begun to work and time does demand it.

And at every village, Vinobaji has his own unique method of introducing his mission. He never repeats the arguments in the same words. The cause itself is so noble that it serves as the source of the incessant inspiration to him. "Does not the sun go to every door and does not a scavenger as well as the Monarch feel that the light of the sun is equally available to him as to all? How can God be partial in distributing things which belong to Him and not to man? If He had distributed air, water, light and sky equally and for all, how is it that He will want that land should not belong to all and to be vested in the hands of a few?" Vinobaji does not mean to suggest that all the land that is in the possession of the land-holders is acquired by foul means. There are some who have received it as a reward for their services, while there are others who might have acquired it through industry and hard work, although there are not few who have obtained it by means other than fair. Whatever it might be, the fact is that while few possess lands there are many who do not have any at all. This is against the Will of the Lord and His Will alone can prevail in the world. It might be for this reason that He has chosen me as an instrument to launch this revolutionary movement of acquiring land through persuasion and love. Otherwise what power do I possess that people should voluntarily part with their land and give it away to me for distribution amongst the poor?" Somebody has to say it. Who else could be better fitted than him, who has only the good of all at his heart, and who has no self-interest

left in this world, except the interest of all? At Narsingpur, he said differently, "My coming here to ask for land does not imply humility on my part and benevolence on yours. Mine is the demand of a rightful share on behalf of the poor. Duryodhan was prepared to give ten instead of five villages, not as the legitimate share of the Pandawas, but as a token of his mercy. Did Yudhistir accept that? He insisted for the recognition of his right. That is my stand."

And like Lokamanya Tilak who gave the slogan — "Swarajya is my birth-right," Vinobaji gave another slogan — "Every son of the soil has equal right over the mother earth."

He gives his reasons for the movement. "Decide your wants and plan accordingly."

"The world is going on the wrong path, you can check it by proper planning at home. And this proper planning is impossible without proper distribution of land."

"And is not distribution possible without the help of the law or the pistol? China and Russia have a lesson to give. Telangana has proved the futility of violence and feasibility of a non-violent revolution because there the pistol has failed and the law is not going to succeed. People know the loopholes in the law better than the law makers themselves do. But even if the law has to come it should come in the best possible form, and *Bhu-dan* alone can create the necessary favourable atmosphere for it."

At first people thought land cannot be had by mere asking. When it began to come, they said the problem cannot be solved by such small gifts alone. Exactly! "Therefore it is upto you to decide your quota and fix your target. I want you to unfasten your purses. Abandon your claim on the lands in your possession. It is neither proper nor justifiable to retain the rights of ownership. People ask whether the Government would not move in the matter. I simply fail to understand their question. Is the Government different from the people? The Government will do what the people will want it to do." And then he narrates them - and that graphically too - how land is being distributed in Telangana to-day. "Our men go in search of the landless as does the father in search of a proper bridegroom for his daughter. Imagine the joy of the people who have absolutely no idea that

some one will come to their doors, suddenly one fine morning to make them masters of lands. They had not even dreamt of it. That is non-violent revolution."

At Kareli where Vinobaji received more than 300 acres of land costing Rs. 1,000 per acre, a friend said, "This is all spontaneous. They have given to you because they have understood your mission, from your words. If now we carry on your message and do some organised effort, it is not difficult to collect more lands." But I must not take more time on this. Vinobaji is seriously thinking of giving some concrete shape to his programme and let us wait for his announcement.

SWAMI SITARAM'S FAST.

I cannot close this letter without mentioning another equally important event of the week.

At Umrana on the 34th day of Swami Sitaram's fast, Vinobaji became restless about Swamiji. How can we afford to lose such a great worker? He therefore wrote to the Prime Minister who in return acquainted Vinobaji with all the efforts he was doing and also with the difficulties that stood in the path of fulfilling the demand of the Andhras. Telegrams and telephones were exchanged from Chhindwara to New Delhi and Guntur. At 10 p. m. the following message from Vinobaji was delivered to the personal assistant of Swamiji:

"Pray give up fast immediately. As I understand the situation, continuation of fast is impeding the cause which will be best served by breaking it now. I am convinced Jawaharlalji is trying his best."

And the fast was given up but no declaration has yet been made. The delay is causing restlessness to the Andhras. But Swamiji has assured Vinobaji that he would not take any step without consulting him. Vinobaji, however, has convinced him that the President and the Prime Minister are doing their best.

Another event of anxiety during the week is Vinobaji's health. He had to walk 21 miles and that too through the hill-sides and the mountain ghats of Satpura. He did not get rest after all the three diets which he should have; moreover his experiment of eliminating milk-diet and replacing it by groundnut milk, all combined together, told on his health and he suffered from acute diarrhoea. After eight motions a day for

★ Dignity of Labour or Identification with Labouring Class? ★

DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR

As a sequence of Shri Mazumdar's speech reproduced below, a resolution was passed at the meeting of the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh on the 4th September, after full discussion, appealing to all the workers to actually participate in all kinds of manual work within and also outside the institution and consciously mix with the labouring class. Full text of the Resolution was published in page 96 in the October issue of the 'Khadi World'.

THE 'HUZURS' AND THE 'MAZDURS.'

From every part of the world, we are hearing, in these days, the cry to establish a new society i. e. classless society free from exploitation of any kind. We have been noticing that new parties and groups are emerging and in the preamble of their declarations in the objects of such parties or groups, this ideal and objective is particularly stressed. The society stands today divided into two distinct classes—the 'Huzur' i. e. the Gentry and the 'Mazdur' that is the Working Class. The interest of these two are so conflicting that every thinking man has begun to fear that the whole world will sooner or later get engulfed in the flames of a big conflagration which will reduce it to ashes. The 'Huzur' can live and continue to live on the exploitation of The 'Mazdur.' Thus so long as these two classes remain as distinct entities, there is no chance for the realization of a classless society. It will be there in dream only. The only remedy is that the former should merge in the latter. The 'Huzur' will have to be liquidated, leaving

the whole of human society to be one of the 'Mazdurs'.

VIOLENT REVOLUTION OR NON - VIOLENT TRANSFORMATION?

There are only two ways for the liquidation of the 'Huzur class'. One way is through a violent revolution at the cost of class-war and blood and the other through the non-violent mental transformation which will make the 'Huzurs' renounce their superiority and identify themselves entirely with the 'Mazdurs'.

The former way, i. e. the violent revolution, will bring no peace to the world. Violence can beget only violence. Violent attack naturally produces the feeling of revenge in the victim who then will be always waiting for the first opportunity for the counter-attack with greater violence. In other words, the violence of the offender and the offended goes on recoiling on each other and thus the circuit will go on repeating till eternity. History has taught us that the so called Peace between two nations is nothing but a period of respite to make

(Continued from previous page)

three continuous days which made him so feeble that at Surlakapa and Harrai, he could not talk to the people on arrival as he often does. He had to rest under the shade of a tree more than once, before reaching the halting place. What a strain it was! To walk 15 to 20 miles with disturbed and diarrhoeic condition of the stomach! Who can convince him of the advisability of postponing the tour for rest till recovery? He would not budge. He did not, inspite of all persuasions, stay even for a day more. The Sarvodaya

Conference of Madhya Pradesh workers was fixed on the 1st and 2nd October. He must reach Sagar at the latest on 2nd. So with great effort he could be persuaded to break journey at Kareli and postpone the tour by one day. Any way by his dietetic experiments he brought the disease under control. The journey is going on well as before. An important change has been made. He rises at 3 a. m. instead of at 3-30 a. m. and so does the party, which leaves at 4 O' clock in the morning instead of at 5 a. m.,. The greater part of the journey is now covered in the early hours of the morning.

— Free rendering from Hindi "Sarvodaya" Sept. '51

preparations for another war. Thus it is quite clear to every one of us that this method will not save mankind and bring peace. Hence the second way is the only alternative. Our country will have to show to the world a scientific and practical method to achieve the desired goal.

DIGNITY OF WORK.

Since some time past, people have begun to appreciate the 'dignity of labour'. Many of the constructive - work institutions and the workers under them, have begun to understand it and are making attempts to practise it. The feeling has begun to spread among also some sections of the youths of the land. Even some of those institutions who do not seem to have any interest in manual work have begun to grow with the labour of their own members, at least, some vegetables and greens without hiring labourers on wage. The realisation of the dignity of labour has consciously and sometimes unconsciously begun to attract people in all walks of life. The progress of Basic Education also has inspired this feeling among the students.

The conscious realisation of the 'dignity of labour' is only the first step in the efforts to mentally transform the 'Huzur class'. It is only the beginning towards the objective of the non-violent social revolution. The real objective before us is the total identification of ourselves with the 'Mazdur class'. We have to proceed with caution. The dignity of labour should not be misunderstood as a means for physical exercise or monetary and material gains. That will not lift us to that mental state of classless feel-

ing and complete identification and merging with the 'labour-class people'.

America and other countries have recognized the dignity of labour. But they have not yet attempted to emphasize the dignity of labouring class.

HOW TO GET RID OF THIS CONSERVATISM?

* Mere appreciation and attempts to respect the dignity of work will not make us to shed that feeling of conservatism and superiority complex in us. No doubt it helps us to some extent. Many of our workers, of course, do manual work when they are in the institution. But when they go to the outside world, they exhibit the same feeling of aloofness and conservatism that we find in the 'Huzur class'. This is because it has not created any mental change in their outlook in life and modes of living. The gentry fashion and habits of life yet remain in them. What they do within the four walls of our institutions has not helped them to cast away that feeling of class-consciousness which is rooted in their minds.

Therefore there should be a re-orientation of our programme of manual work. We should aim at the practical programme of actually mingling both in body and mind with the working-class people and it should produce the effect of complete identification with them in our life. Our activities in the field of manual work should inspire in us that spirit and enthusiasm to achieve the desired objective. Our effort should be not only to spread the ideology of the dignity of labour, but also uphold the dignity of the 'labouring class.'

A THOUGHT FOR LIFE

One of the things that Gandhiji invariably reads and often the only thing he has time for - in the "Times of India" - is the "Thought for the day" on top of the leading article. There was one sometime ago that he consciously practised throughout his life, inasmuch as it is an aspect of non-violence, and it now adorns one of the walls facing his seat (in his hut in Sevagram).

"When you are in the right, you can afford to keep your temper, and when you are in the wrong, you cannot afford to lose it."

Mahadev Desai in 'Gandhiji - His Life and Work'

★ KUMARAPPA IN CHINA ★

G. RAMACHANDRAN

Secretary, A. I. V. I. A., Wardha

Shri. Kumarappaji left Delhi for Peking on September 20, as a member of the Indian Goodwill Mission, to attend the anniversary celebrations of the Peoples' Republic of China. When he first received the invitation on 13th of September, he was in the Seldoh village and was reluctant to leave the work he was doing there. He was, however, persuaded by his co-workers in Maganwadi to take the opportunity to study the land problem in China and then to go to Japan to study its cottage industries. And so, dressed in his *dhoti-jama*, *khadi kurta* and Gandhi-cap he must now be in Peking, a curious and arresting figure among the people of various nationalities assembled in Peking. He has promised to write regularly to the Maganwadi family. We have already had three letters from him on his way.

Here are two extracts from letters written from Calcutta and Hongkong respectively:

"We were put up at the Grand Hotel in Calcutta. We had dinner at the Chinese Consulate General that night. There were some six different strong drinks and fish, pork, beef, mutton, prawns, chicken and duck cooked in various fashions. Poor me, had to meekly look on with 'watering mouth' at the Brahmin members enjoying themselves with the food and drinks to their capacity. I had to content myself with a few pickled mushrooms and vegetables which were hastily got ready after sitting down to eat, at the table. But as I do not eat at night I could be happy just nibbling away at these to keep company. The food left behind could have fed another half-a-dozen. I was amazed at this lavish hospitality at a Communist Legation!"

"We reached Hongkong in the evening. We were put up at the Swimming House Hotel. The service in the Indian Hotels was servile with an eye to tips. But the Chinese servants in Hongkong were cheerful, with a smile on their faces and held their heads erect as equals. The difference was striking. They were proud of their New China, welcomed us and behaved as though they were themselves our hosts. The next morning I went out for a walk to see for myself what Hongkong was like in the poor section. I went to where I thought there would be filth and dirt — fish and meat bazaars and vegetable stalls. I was amazed, I did not see a fly or a crow or a kite — the well recognised scavengers of dirt in the East. The streets were clean though the people were poor, some even living on the pavements. No spitting or any other human refuse, no smells except that of the natural dry fish etc. I have not seen a city as clean as this outside the West. Why, some parts of London may well take lessons from this place. This place is British, but the population is poor Chinese, whose living conditions are not much different from those on the pavements of our cities. We too have had Britishers managing our cities and the difference must be looked for in the co-operation of the Chinese. In the evening we left by steamer for Canton. On this steamer, after nearly two days, we saw two flies at tea-time and my companions remarked, 'Look, look, two flies!'"

It is for the first time that India has sent out an outstanding Gandhian constructive worker to China. Kumarappaji's studies, therefore, will be specially significant.

— "Gram Udyog Patrika"

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(Continued from page 100)

work in that direction. Perhaps you feel it is impossible today, but if you are really earnest about it, please address the A. I. S. A., to this effect. "We cannot entrust the whole country to you. But please give us a demonstration of your work in some Taluk. We shall provide you with all the facilities you ask of us." In that case there

will be something. If they fail you seek the help of mills. 'They should either produce the father before our eyes or perform his anniversary rites,' as the saying goes!. No doubt there will be some difficulty in the area selected for work, but that is inevitable. When we introduce prohibition in any area there is some risk. So also here. That much of risk has to be faced.

To be continued.

Self-Sufficiency in Japan

ANNASAHEB SAHASHRABUDHE

The author, one of the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh, who had just returned after visiting Japan spoke at the Sevagram Khadi Vidyalyaya on the 25th September. The following is the substance of his talk:

In Japan sufficient attention is being given in the matter of imparting education to children. The parents and teachers join together and draw up the scheme of education to suit the aptitude of the children and the requirements of the nation. Though Japan was totally ruined in the second world-war, during the last three or four years, with the mutual help of the villagers in every village, big educational institutions were built up. The Government sends only teachers to the schools. All the other requirements of the schools are being secured by the villagers themselves.

The plan of education is like this:— Fifty percent of the students on their return from schools go and stay in the villages and do agricultural work. Out of the rest of the students, some go and work in the field of commerce and some in the industries if they have the capacity of administrative efficiency and skill.

In Japan no family has more than two or three acres of land. With this limited acreage they produce up to 40 maunds of grains per acre by the use of compost manure and the rain water collected in reservoirs. They carefully nurse and supervise the seedlings with a high target of crop to be harvested. All the industrial factories declare holidays for the labourers at the time when the grain seedlings are to be transplanted. This is observed as a national festival with great eclat.

They prepare compost manure out of night-soil, wastes of vegetables and greens, waste paper and rags. In every village every day the night-soil is taken to the fields. In the fields there are pits to collect these things. Water is let in and they are allowed to get well mixed up and putrefied for 7 to 10 days and then it is used for the plants in liquid form. When necessary the Government also gives the required help.

In Japan, in industrial field and also in agricultural field about five hundred small machines which can be conveniently handled have been invented. Each of them is generally worked by one person. The Japanese people think that only such big machines should be used as will turn out just twice the work of what a man can do in 8 hours a day.

Through sheer practice, the Japanese labourers have attained skill in hand-work. It is really a surprise to see the speed and dexterity with which they do every piece of work. This is the reason that any average Japanese labourer earns more wages and the cost of manufactured articles is the lowest.

The Japanese, in the interest of their nation, through their hard work and industry, for their daily home needs use only such of those rough and shoddy things and send the best and most beautiful to outside countries. The Japanese think that they could sell at a low price and compete in the foreign market of any country if there is no ban or hindrance from other nations and if the duty on their articles is not abnormal.

If India desires to create a revolution in the industrial field she has to follow the method of Japan's self-sufficiency programme. India will have to imbibe and keep in her mind this swadeshi vow of Japan and make use of only articles made in cottages. There is no way other than this.

YERAVDA CHARKHA AND YERAVDA PACT

"Perhaps very few people know that it was Gandhiji who by numerous experiments in Yeravda prison, perfected the portable spinning wheel which was originally designed by a Surat friend called Vimawala. It is therefore that the perfected wheel goes by the name of "Yeravda Charkha", even as the pact that was sealed with a fast in the same prison goes by the name of the Yeravda Pact".

Mahadev Desai

How Jaggery Industry is Killed by Sugar Mills

N. S. SIVASUBRAMANIAN, M. A.

Forty years ago cane jaggery-gur was a perfect product of a decentralised rural industry. Every peasant grew cane in a small plot of his land, and crushed the cane and manufactured jaggery. He utilized his and his cattle labour when they were left to waste. The simple appliances of manufacture were held by him either solely by himself or jointly with others. The cattle were fed, and the family satisfied itself on the cane and its products. The finished product was stored in for the annual consumption of the family and if any extra quantity remained, it was sold to the merchants who came to buy it. The money - price changed with seasonal variations, but there was no great economic consideration, the main motive being self-sufficiency.

The peasants' need for this gradually increased and this led to an expansion of the cane cultivation, and production of jaggery. Artificial and chemical manures—whatever their ultimate reaction on land and the use of machinery for crushing be—led to a vast expansion of the cane cultivation. Government also very seriously encouraged cultivators to grow more cane. This naturally changed the nature of cultivation and manufacture.

Jaggery, rich with vitamins and mineral salts held the field till sugar, seemingly pure and attractive, began to compete with jaggery. Attracted by its appearance the demand for sugar increased and the manufacture of sugar was attempted. The Government gave it all possible encouragement and many factories were established in cane growing areas. In such areas the crushing of cane for manufacturing jaggery has been almost given up and the very process of manufacture forgotten. The independent peasant no more makes his own jaggery and even if he attempts he cannot succeed.

With restrictions on consumption of sugar the demand for jaggery increased, but Government prohibited the manufacture of jaggery in the Sugar-mill areas. In other areas they controlled the price of jaggery to keep it sufficiently low. When the price of jaggery was high they forced it go down even to uneconomic levels. But the expectation of an increasing demand expanded the cane area out of all proportions and the fall of jaggery prices has now pulled down

the cane grower. Both ways the jaggery industry itself is being rudely shaken.

In the mill areas, the small growers have no advantage. They have to fulfil many intricate formalities before they can offer their cane to the mill. Then they have to cut and transport the cane to the mill when ordered, and wait patiently to receive payment. Walking long distances, and waiting for long hours they have to waste very many days, and are scarcely treated with due regard. These drive the small growers to middle-men who supply cane in bulk to the factory, and for their services snatch away a good bit of the price given to the cane. In a big industry middle-men and bulk growers are but inevitable and these drive away the smaller from the field.

In areas where there are no sugar mills the cane growers are no better. They expand the areas so indiscriminately that they find it difficult to crush all the cane in time, even when attractive prices rule. But when the prices fall, the fall is phenomenal and the growers at times even destroy their cane rather than incur fresh loss on manufacturing jaggery. When high prices prevail the Government comes down with its control to pull down the prices, but when the prices reach uneconomically low levels the Government silently walk out of the scene, instead of offering to buy the produce at control prices. To destroy a cane field is not only a loss to the grower, but also to the community as it loses so much food. These price variations also are out to smash the smaller grower who has no sustaining power.

Thus a flourishing rural industry is being destroyed and its decentralized aspect taken away from it. Vast areas of fertile land are being diverted to grow cane and this considerably aggravates the food supply of the community. The realistic and practical scheme of utilizing fully the palm trees of the country may considerably release fertile areas for the production of food, while all the needed gur of the people might be supplied. But we seem to be going the other way of utilizing more land for growing cane, and to perfectly industrialize it on a centralized basis. Machine has so far driven away human labour and the time will come when it may even eat away human beings!

The Root Problem of East and West

WILFRED WELLOCK

Mr. Wilfred Wellock, one of the renowned leading world Pacifists, has written a few booklets of special value to constructive workers in India. "*Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary*" and "*The Third Way*" are among his outstanding books, from which we hope to reproduce extracts in the subsequent issues of the "*Khadi World*". He visited many constructive institutions in the south and spent a day with us in the Veerapandy Khadi Centre last year. His recent letter to us refers to the common problem of the East and the West. As it may be of interest to our readers it is reproduced below:

Yes, of course, I remember the day or two I spent at your Ashram very vividly. The experience got in the visit to the A. I. S. A., Centre, where spinners and weavers brought their yarn and cloth and made their exchanges, was very valuable to me. I learnt a great deal indeed in that visit about the origin, history, methods and aims of the khadi movement and the part played by the A. I. S. A., in it. And now permit me to congratulate you on the production of "*Khadi World*". I thought that probably some such periodical existed already, without of course my knowing anything about it. But as it did not, I rejoice in its appearance in the form it now comes, for I am sure it will meet a real need. Since Gandhiji's death there has been revealed in India a very serious lack of understanding of the nature and importance of Gandhiji's teachings on the economic and social order which India ought to try to establish. Too many Indians had not allowed their minds to travel further than the winning of political independence. Hence today they are "at sea" without a compass or other guide.

I personally find your new periodical full of good material, and thus very valuable, because, strange to say, India's fundamental problem is ours also. Indeed one might almost say that the root problem of the East and the West today is the same. It is for that reason that I am delighted to learn that you

propose to publish extracts from my booklet '*Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary*'. I shall be happy to send you a copy of "*Peace News*", which is a weekly paper devoted to peace. In it you will find that I am concentrating in my articles on the idea that the roots of peace are in right personal and social living, that war is the explosion caused by the injustices which exist in the centralised mass-production industrial system of the West. India, under Gandhiji's inspiration is trying to evolve an "Economy", a social and industrial system, which will avoid the evils to which the west has fallen a victim, while the West is more and more being compelled to find a way of escape from those evils in the very principles of decentralisation, of Village Republics, which Gandhiji advocated. It was therefore a very great surprise to me, when I visited India in 1949-50, to discover the close parallelism between the ideals and aims of the Gandhian workers and those of the groups to which I personally belong, and to the formulation and exposition of which I have been devoting my whole life for many years. You are therefore, free to use any of my ideas and to reprint any of my writings without request or payment.

I have already posted to you several copies of "*Peace News*." On the whole, "*Peace News*" is pursuing peace on orthodox lines, by way of demanding disarmament in the world as it is today, whereas I am trying to convince Western Pacifists that peace is a way of life which affects personal motives and the basis of the social and economic order.

Very soon there will be published a new booklet of mine, entitled '*Annihilation or a Creative Revolution*' of which I shall send you a copy as soon as it is ready.

Every good wish for your valiant enterprise and may it accomplish its great purpose.

New Longton, Preston, ENGLAND.

2nd Oct., '51.

Edited by N. Ramaswami;

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NEWS AND NOTES

SHRI. DHIRENDRA MAZUMDAR'S TOUR PROGRAMME

Shri. Dharendra Mazumdar, President, A. I. S. A., will be touring in Tamil Nad, Kerala and South Kanara from 22nd November to 28th December. There will be no public meetings. But there will be camps for the workers of the A. I. S. A., and representatives of Kathayi Mandals and other constructive institutions in each Vibagh. The following is the Programme for camps in the various regions :

Place	Date
Madras, South Arcot and North Arcot	Nov. 22nd to 24th.
Tanjore, Tiruchi	" 26th to 28th.
Tirupur	" 30th to Dec. 2nd
Madhurai, Ramnad	Dec. 4th to 6th
Koilkatti	" 8th to 10th.
Travancore	" 12th and 13th.
" Central and North	" 15th and 16th.
Old Cochin State	" 18th and 19th.
Palghat	" 21st and 22nd.
Calicut	" 24th and 25th.
South Kanara	" 27th and 28th.

RESEARCH AND IMPLEMENTS

The following is the substance of the resolutions passed by the Trustees of the Charkha Sangh on the 4th and 5th September:

"The Sangh under its existing policy desires that it is necessary that the workers in the implements' workshop will get rid of the commercial work, and will pay more and more attention for researches, training of workers and for self-sufficiency. From the experience so far gained it is found that the Bamboo charkha, from the point of speed and self-sufficiency and also the capital investment required, has achieved importance. So the Sangh is of opinion that the manufacture of box charkhas etc. on commercial scale be reduced and efforts to propagate Bamboo charkhas be made." (R. 25)

"The Trustees approve the samples of 'Dhunai Modikas' and Bamboo charkhas which the research section has placed before them as they have satisfied the requirements of cottage industry machines. But the committee hopes that further researches will be carried on the 'pedalling model' to reduce

the cost to Rs. 50 so that it can be in every home and benefit the self-sufficient spinner as well as other spinners to meet the full requirements of cloth in the land." (R. 12)

"Spinning has spread in the schools in many places of our country. The Sangh is getting requisition from all places for supply of spinning implements. The Sangh suggests from every point of view the desirability of propagating the use of Bamboo charkhas in schools and to get them made by students themselves." (R. 24)

GANDHISM AND MARXISM

An extract from the introduction of Acharya Vinoba Bhave to the book 'Gandhi and Marx' by Shri. K. G. Mashruwala, the latest publication of Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, is reprinted in this issue of the 'Khadi World'. The concluding portion of the book by Shri. Kishorlal is also reproduced.

This is a gripping book of not only topical interest but of permanent value as it deals with the two radically opposed philosophies of Gandhiji and Marx. This is a fitting answer for those who think that Gandhism is a barren philosophy lacking dialectics and an intellectual approach to the problems of life and society. The book has obtained an added importance as it combines the writings of the two leading personalities of the day in the Gandhian—Sarvodaya field and will serve as an authoritative interpretation of the two conflicting philosophies. It is a book which has to be reprinted in thousands in the form of cheap pamphlets in English and other provincial languages for mass distribution.

KERALA AND TAMIL NAD CONSTRUCTIVE WORKERS

There was a conference of constructive workers of Kerala at Gandhi Seva Sadhan in Peroor, (S. Malabar) from 12th to 14th Octr., Shri R. S. Dhotre presided. About 60 workers from all the parts of Kerala met and discussed about the various aspects of constructive work towards Sarvodaya Ideal.

The constructive workers of Tamil Nad met at Bommanaickenpalayam (Coimbatore Dist.) on 22nd and 23rd Sept., and passed resolutions regarding boycott of mill-products like cloth, sugar, rice, oil etc.,

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PRAKASAN VIBAGH (A. I. S. A.) WARDHA.

The Head Office of the A. I. S. A., has published over fifty books on the science, technique and philosophy of Khadi in Marathi and Hindi, besides a few books in English. Owing to low margin the Charkha Sangh could give only 12½% commission to the Bhandars and Book-sellers till now. Since this is found to be insufficient to cover the expenses of the retail sellers it has been decided to allow a commission of 20% on whole-sale sales from 2nd October '51. It is hoped that the Khadi Bhandars of the A. I. S. A., and Certified Institutions and other Book-sellers will try their best to propagate Khadi literature in their respective areas.

BAJAJWADI,
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